

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PANAMA 06861 262111Z

67

ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAB-01 DRC-01 AID-20 /120 W

----- 094755

R 262013Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY PANAMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9384

INFO GOV PANCANAL

USCINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L PANAMA 6861

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PN, PFOR

SUBJ: RESUMPTION OF CANAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS:

REACTION TO BASIC RPINCIPLES

SUMMARY. EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED INDICATIONS THAT SOME FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS BELIEVE PANAMA MAY HAVE GIVEN TOO MUCH IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON PRINCIPLES. THEY REPORTEDLY ARE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED OVER PART OF PRINCIPLE NO. 6 AND ITS FUTURE INTERPRETATION BY THE U S. THE PRINCIPLES ARE REGARDED AS A TRIAL BALLOON WHICH, IF NOT SHOT DOWN, WILL FACILITATE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS. WE SENSE THE PANAMANIAN MAY FROM TIME TO TIME SUFFER FROM "COLD FEET." ACCORDINGLY, WE MUST SEEK TO COAX THEM ALONG BY REASSURING THEM, PROVIDING PERIODIC EVIDENCE OF PROGRESS AND GIVING AN ELEMENT OF MOMENTUM TO THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO BE DERAILED OVER MINOR DIFFERENCES OR INCIDENTS. END SUMMARY.

1. TWO EMBASSY SOURCES HAVE INDICATED THAT FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS ARE WORRIED THAT PANAMA CONCEDED TOO MUCH TO THE U S IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE EIGHT PRINCIPLES. ONE OF THESE SOURCES ALSO TOLD US THAT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PANAMA 06861 262111Z

THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS NOT CLOSELY IDENTIFYING HIMSELF

WITH THE PRINCIPLES BUT WAS LETTING AMBASSADOR GONZALEZ REVILLA TAKE THE RESPONSIBILITY.

2. THE SECOND SOURCE, DR. SIMON QUIROS, WHO IS A FOREIGN MINISTRY ADVISOR ON CANAL MATTERS AND WHO WAS PRESENT DURING THE DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING THE PRINCIPLES WHICH THE FOREIGN MINISTER HELD IN THE EL PANAMA HOTEL DECEMBER 17-19, ALSO SAID THAT THE OFFICIALS WERE FEARFUL THAT PANAMA HAD GIVEN TOO MUCH IN ACCEPTING U S PROPOSALS. HE SAID GONZALEZ REVILLA LACKED EXPERIENCE AND OFFICIALS IN FOREIGN MINISTRY THOUGHT THE AMBASSADOR LACKED THE INTELLIGENCE NECESSARY TO AVOID MAKING MISTAKES.

3. QUIROS SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH THE PANAMANIAN TRUSTED THE AMERICAN NEGOTIATORS BUNKER AND BELL, THEY COULD NOT TRUST THE U S GOVERNMENT; SPECIFICALLY, THEY MISTRUSTED THOSE OFFICIALS WHO WOULD BE INTERPRETING A TREATY ONCE IT WAS RATIFIED. PANAMA'S EXPERIENCE OVER THE YEARS IN HAVING THE USG UNILATERALLY INTERPRET THE 193 (#) TREATY WAS THE BASIS FOR THIS SUSPICION. PANAMANIAN WERE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED ABOUT PRINCIPLE 6 ACCORDING TO WHICH PANAMA AGREED TO GRANT TO THE U S NOT ONLY THE RIGHTS TO REGULATE THE PASSAGE OF SHIPS AND OPERATE, MAINTAIN, PROTECT AND DEFEND THE CANAL, BUT ALSO RIGHTS TO UNDERTAKE "OTHER ACTIVITIES." EMBOFF REPLIED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE PRINCIPLE PROVIDED THAT SUCH ACTIVITIES WOULD HAVE TO BE AGREED UPON IN A TREATY AND THEREFORE PANAMA SHOULD NOT WORRY ABOUT THE INCLUSION OF THAT PHRASEOLOGY IN THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES. QUIROS REPLIED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THIS BUT NEVERTHELESS SUCH INDEFINITE LANGUAGE FRIGHTENED THE PANAMANIAN. WHENEVER AN ELEPHANT AND A DONKEY WERE IN A SMALL CAGE TOGETHER THE DONKEY HAD TO EXERCISE GREAT CARE NOT TO GET TRAMPLED. IN THIS CASE, PANAMA WAS THE DONKEY.

4. AMBASSADOR GONZALEZ REVILLA REMARKED TO EMBOFF THAT THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO PANAMA. THE PUBLIC RECEPTION WHICH THE PRINCIPLES RECEIVED WHEN ANNOUNCED WOULD BE INDICATIVE OF HOW PANAMA SHOULD APPROACH THE NEW PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS. IF THE GOP OVERCAME THE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PANAMA 06861 262111Z

OPPOSITION TO THE PRINCIPLES AND OBTAINED GENERAL SUPPORT FOR THEM, HE OPINED, SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE FACILITATED.

5. COMMENT: WE SHOULD NEVER UNDERESTIMATE THE EXTENT OF PANAMA'S INFERIORITY COMPLEX AND THE FEARS THAT PANAMANIAN OFFICIALS HAVE IN DEALING WITH THE UNITED STATES. AS THE NEGOTIATIONS PROGRESS, WE CAN EXPECT THAT FROM TIME TO TIME THEY WILL BE SUBJECT TO ATTACKS OF "COLD FEET."

WE SHOULD SEEK TO COAX THEM ALONG BY ENDEAVORING  
TO REASSURE THEM THAT THE U S DOES NOT HAVE MOTIVES OR  
GOALS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ARE NOT APPARENT IN THE  
WORDS OF THE U S NEGOTIATORS. WE SHOULD ALSO SEEK TO  
MAINTAIN THE GOOD CLIMATE SURROUNDING THE NEGOTIATIONS  
THEREBY MINIMIZING THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF  
POSSIBLE ACCUSATIONS BY LEFTIST NATIONALISTS, STUDENTS,  
MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION OR CONSERVATIVE  
OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT THAT THE GOP IS YIELDING TOO  
MUCH TO THE U S IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT WILL BE IN OUR  
INTEREST TO MAINTAIN FORWARD MOMENTUM ON THE NEGOTIATIONS  
AND TO PROVIDE, WHEN POSSIBLE, EVIDENCE OF PROGRESS WHICH  
WILL SERVE TO STIFFEN TORRIJOS' RESOLVE TO PUSH THE  
NEGOTIATIONS TO A COMPROMISE SOLUTION.  
DANIELS

NOTE BY OC/T: (#) AS RECEIVED.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AGREEMENTS, INTERNATIONAL CANALS, NEGOTIATIONS, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 26 DEC 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973PANAMA06861  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** PANAMA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t1973127/aaaaaetr.tel  
**Line Count:** 131  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ACTION ARA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 23 JAN 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <23-Jan-2002 by martinjw>; APPROVED <13 FEB 2002 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** RESUMPTION OF CANAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS: REACTION TO BASIC RPINCIPLES  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PN  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005